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THE BLACK UNREST, PART OF A SOCIAL MOVEMENT TOWARD HUMAN RIGHTS.

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CIVIL RIGHTS DEMONSTRATIONS, RIOTS, AND OTHER COLLECTIVE MANIFESTATIONS OF UNREST IN THE BLACK COMMUNITY SHOULD BE VIEWED AS A DEVELOPING SOCIAL MOVEMENT ROOTED IN CERTAIN BACKGROUND CONDITIONS OF INEQUALITY. PREVIOUSLY NEGRO LEADERS ADVOCATED ATTAINING EQUAL RIGHTS WITHIN THE WHITE POWER STRUCTURE, BUT NOW THE "MOTIVATIONAL BASE" FOR THE MOVEMENT FOR EQUALITY HAS SHIFTED TO DEMANDS, ESPECIALLY FROM THE BLACK MUSLIMS, FOR DISSOCIATION FROM WHITE STANDARDS AND INSTITUTIONS AND FOR AN IDENTIFICATION WITH OTHER NONWHITE PEOPLES IN THEIR STRUGGLE FOR AUTONOMY. SINCE THE MOVEMENT IS SHAPED BY INCREASINGLY URGENT DEMANDS FROM THE NEGRO RANK AND FILE, THEIR LEADERS HAVE ASSUMED AN INCREASINGLY MILITANT STAND. AND ALTHOUGH IT IS CHARACTERISTICALLY DIVIDED INTO FACTIONS OF CONSERVATIVE AND MILITANT GROUPS, THE MOVEMENT HAS MADE EFFECTIVE GAINS TOWARD THE GROUP SOLIDARITY NECESSARY FOR "BLACK POWER." WHITE EFFORTS TO DEAL WITH THE BLACK COMMUNITY MUST RECOGNIZE THIS NEW MILITANT MOOD AND THE MOVEMENT'S LEADERSHIP, HOWEVER EXTREME. NO TOKEN INPUT OF FUNDS WILL NOW END THE WIDESPREAD DISSATISFACTION OF THE NEGRO. HE WILL REALIZE HIS HUMAN RIGHTS WHEN HE GAINS FULL PARTICIPATION IN THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES WHICH HAVE FOR SO LONG DETERMINED HIS DESTINY, AND WHEN WHATEVER EXISTING WHITE RACISM IS ELIMINATED. THIS INVITED ADDRESS WAS PREPARED FOR THE CONFERENCE ON THE CHANGING BLACK COMMUNITY, ORGANIZED BY THE PENNSYLVANIA HUMAN RELATIONS COMMISSION, EPHRATA, PENNSYLVANIA, FEBRUARY 5-8, 1968. (LB)

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Invited address prepared for the conference on The Changing Black Community, organized by the Pennsylvania Human Relations Commission, Ephrata, Pennsylvania, February 5-8, 1968

I

We shall first give a digest of our theme. The nature of the changing black community is not something to be taken lightly as all of us have been learning, especially during the last ten years. Nor has the change dawned suddenly without prior signals. It has been simmering for decades. The changing black community will have profound consequences in shaping the course of human relations in this country. The change in the black community is not reflected in just this or that episode of social action, or this or that particular organization. It is an ongoing and growing pattern of attempts on the part of its active leaders and rank and file. In short, it is an ongoing, growing social movement. Only when conceived as an ongoing and growing social movement can one develop an insight into the nature of actual and incipient changes. And only through such insight into the nature of social movements can one truly appreciate the potential of this social movement as a creative force, rather than a disruptive force.

II

This seminar is devoted to problems so urgent and pressing that such seminars and workshops are currently being organized all over the country under the auspices of various state and city authorities, private organizations and concerned individuals, as well as federal agencies. Such meetings and councils are a response to the urgency of events, the restlessness and direct action of people who are underprivileged in a land of plenty, whose rights to equal opportunity have been pitifully curtailed, who have endured frustration and humiliation for decades and decades, and whose dignity and existence as human beings have been denied and trampled upon.

Our discussion starts deliberately with the widespread nature of the state of restlessness and disenchantment beyond the bounds of one locality, one state or commonwealth. Emphasis on the wide scope of the restlessness and disenchantment is necessary for proper insight into the nature of the changes underway in the black community and the nature of changes necessary in society at large. Such emphasis brings the sober realization that the roots of the changes, the underlying restlessness and feelings of exasperation are deeper than what single individuals can observe in one locality or one state.

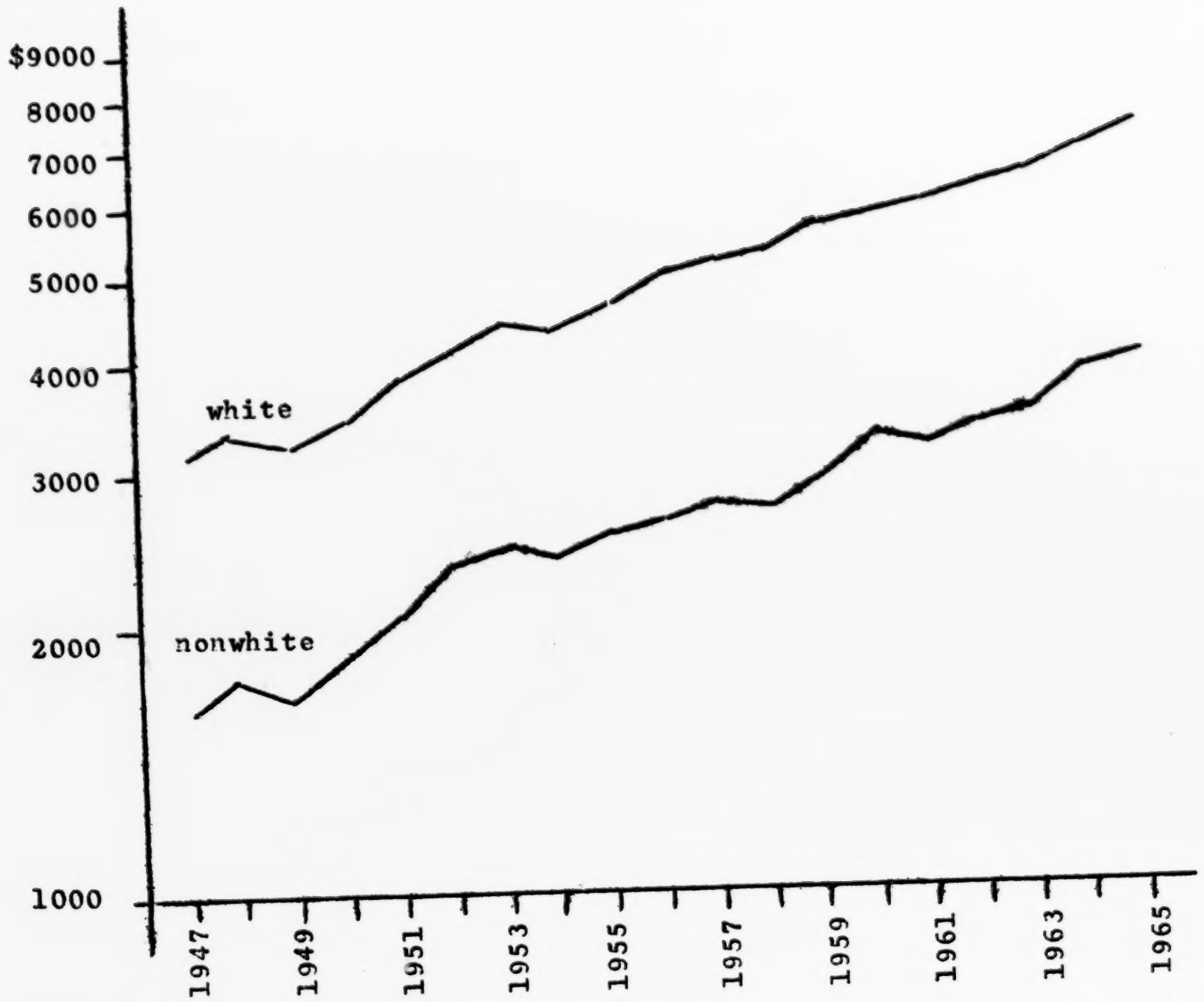
When we were first approached about the programming of this seminar and asked to prepare this paper, it was gratifying to find the organizers of the seminar in sympathy with our suggestion that the roots of restlessness and the actions that they arouse be explored first, and that the voices of those directly affected be heard, especially the young people, including the militant ones, before going into considerations of practical steps that will measure up to the changes that are needed and required. In devising practices that will do justice to the requirements of a changing black community, one cannot afford to rely on journalistic verdicts or vindictive, repressive ideas formulated as a direct response to protests, rallies, demonstrations and more militant flare-ups like riots. One has to avoid the role of a judge in either condoning or denouncing them, but go instead to the root causes of such collective flare-ups--whether they are violent or non-violent.

The necessity for going into the causes of collective behaviors like riots is an idea that has been repeated by many people, both inside and outside of state and federal government. As many people have pointed out recently, poverty, lack of equal opportunities in work and education, the ghetto existence, miserable housing and living

conditions, and the existence of both open and more subtle forms of prejudice and acts of discrimination in all spheres of social life are certainly among these causes. It should be obvious by now that efforts to eliminate poverty, to increase equal job opportunities, equal educational opportunities, opportunities for decent living conditions, opportunities in the professions, and so on are essential: these are musts.

But here, too, it is no longer sufficient for a human being in this country--black, white or yellow-- just to have a steady job, a roof over his head and some food to eat. It is not enough to have the bare essentials of education. For, human beings-- be they white, yellow or black--do not judge what they are and what they have and what they do in absolute terms, but in relation to others, especially if the others have put on an air of superiority with special privileges and claims of dominance, and have practiced their dominance by brute force and laws they imposed for decades.

The relative nature of the experience of satisfactions and dissatisfactions can be illustrated easily in the area of income. It is true that income has been rising in this country, including that of the Negro population, and that some segments of the non-white population have enjoyed substantial increases. However, the Negro unemployment rate is still much higher and, more specifically, the pitiful gap between white and non-white income has not closed a bit. The persistence of this gap is illustrated by the distribution of average income for whites and non-whites between 1947 and 1965, as presented in a diagram by Herman Miller, the expert at the U.S. Census Bureau, who based his figures on the Current Population Reports (1967).



The income gap between white and black populations is not closing.

The diagram of median income of families for nearly 20 years (1947-1965) adapted from Herman Miller, based on data from Current Population Reports, U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1967, p. 4. Series P-60, No. 53

As this diagram shows, relative to white income, the non-white community is no better off than it was twenty years ago.

Such facts as these, as well as the social-psychological consequences, have to be included in any analysis of the emerging angry mood and attitude of the changing black community. The emerging mood and attitude have reached such a state of exasperation that what black people want and rightly claim is no longer just getting any old job, or some education or even a good position in life handed down by the established power structure of the status quo. Like anyone else, they want the necessities of life, the good things of life, education, and a station in life, but with full participation in and control over their own destinies.

The desire of people for self determination will be very much a part of the main theme of this presentation, namely changes in the black community as part and parcel of a developing social movement. The bill of gripes and the claims for self determination in their own plight and destinies have been expressed forcefully and so widely in recent years that they already fill a small library. The published works and pronouncements of people like Whitney Young, James Baldwin, Martin Luther King, Louis Lomax, James Farmer, James Forman, Malcolm X, Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton are among those making the more articulate statements, of course with variations in intensity and in tactics, as you all know.

The analysis of the roots or causes of protests, demonstrations, riots and other violent or non-violent modes of collective behavior requires that we evaluate their antecedent conditions and the conditions prevailing in the larger scene. It requires a perspective larger than that gained by the easy conclusion putting responsibility for these events in the laps of a few agitators. Human beings--black or

white--seldom if ever engage in collective actions or outbursts unless they are already in tune, unless they are in a state of restlessness, frustration and disillusionment. It is largely conservative commentators on the social scene who can see nothing more at the roots of collective actions than the conniving of a few agitators. However, collective actions can and do occur without any evidence of agitators--and no one listens to agitators who do not tune into the proper wavelength.

We can gain insight into the workings of many forms of collective flare-ups, including riots, if we view them as part and parcel of a social movement of long duration, instead of discrete events created by a few agitators, or instead of particular failings on the part of this or that policy or city during the heat of summer. The particular events associated at the moment with such flare-ups, like riots, are, in fact, only triggers to action, for which other triggers could easily be substituted. Flare-ups in American cities, for example, are not unique events of the long, hot summers of the 1960's. Way back in 1943, the Detroit race riots, in which whites perpetrated the violence, were triggered by a relatively minor incident on a bridge at Belle Island. But as the sociologists Lee and Humphrey (1943) noted in their book on the Detroit Race Riot, the outbursts might easily have been triggered at any of a number of places by other incidents during the simmering tensions in Detroit, instead of on that humid Sunday evening of June 20, 1943.

When seen as parts of a social movement rising from accumulated deprivations, frustrations and injustices, the causes of collective flare-ups of various sorts acquire quite a different significance than when regarded as so many disorders without rhyme or reason, or as the result of sheer impulsiveness, or psychopathology, or the doings only

of a few agitators and trouble makers.

During February of 1960, the four freshmen who staged a sit-in in Greensboro, North Carolina, and the tens of thousands who participated in sit-ins the following year, were denouced for everything from breeding strife to inciting anarchy. Their non-violent collective actions, prompted by the denial of their most elementary human rights, were seen as unwarranted disorders, as the doings of outside agitators, and as the impulsiveness of headstrong youth. Yet, according to the evidence, the sit-ins started spontaneously, in the sense that they were initiated by the students themselves, and they were anything but impulsive. After a few experiences, the young people held classes to school and discipline themselves in ways to avoid being hurt. For example, here is a sample of the instructions actually used in such a class: "You may choose to face physical assault without protecting yourself, making plain you do not intend to hit back....To protect the skull, fold the hands over the head ..." and so on. (Zinn, 1964)

III

It will not serve a useful purpose in this discussion to go into the descriptive details about the bus boycotts, the sit-ins, the marches and the riots that have marked the national scene for the last dozen years. For these events represent only the snowcap of a massive iceberg submerged beneath the surface. What is submerged is a social movement that has simmered, from long years of slavery, injustice, suppression and humiliation and that has coalesced with increasing rapidity, especially as black people have moved to the cities in the south and the north.

In short, it is our thesis that changes in the black community and specific collective actions involving its members have meaning only

when viewed as part and parcel of a social movement simmering for a long time, that has gained momentum rapidly in recent years, partly because its early successes did not alleviate the sufferings of its masses, and partly because of the obdurate resistance and complacency of the white community.

Many of you know more about the specifics of current conditions in the southern cities and countryside as well as the ghettos of northern cities. The only excuse that we as social psychologists can offer for this formulation is that we can extract from the historical trends and current details some pattern that clarifies contemporary and probable future events. This pattern, in turn, is reflected in specific black communities, both in internal problems and in relations with the dominant white majority.

Despite the unique historical features and development of this social movement, the characterization that we present was not derived specifically from a study of Negro history in the United States.* It is a general characterization that applies to any social movement, religious, political or social. If it applies in this case, which we believe it does, it is because any people--yellow, white or black--given certain conditions, prompted by motivational urges, frustrations, humiliations and determined aspirations they share--do organize such movements, which set them into more effective motion at last to do something about the unbearable plight they are thrown into by the power sturcture of the status quo. The United States, itself born from a successful movement for independence, has witnessed many social movements ranging in scope from the labor movement to struggle for the women's suffrage.

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*The formulation that follows, as well as material concerning the black movement, is condensed from two chapters written by the authors for the forthcoming book: Systematic Outlines of Social Psychology: (New York: Harper & Row).

In order to avoid any misunderstanding and to be talking about the same thing, we had better be specific about what a social movement means. Let's start by stating what we do not mean, then come to the positive statement of what we do mean by a social movement.

First, here is what we do not mean:

(a) A social movement is not initiated as a single established organization or group that can be understood entirely in terms of its stated purpose, its leadership and members, even though such organizations and groups may participate in the movement.

(b) We do not refer to a single episode or a series of episodes of collective action, such as a march, a rally or a riot, although such episodes are integral parts of a movement. But there is much more to a social movement than its collective action episodes like demonstrations, protest meetings, marches and boycotts.

(c) We do not imply that a social movement represents a complete consensus or unity of purpose, of goals or tactics at a particular point in time, although such unity may develop as the movement nears its climax as, for example, near the end of the movement for independence from Great Britain when a majority of the American colonists joined in unity toward its goal.

Now to the positive side: What is a social movement?

(a) A social movement is a pattern of attempts to bring about social change(s), developing in phases over time. Since its purpose is change, a social movement invariably encounters opposition from the moment it starts to proclaim the need for change. Hence a rising social movement is always countered by intensified opposition to the last ditch. The changes advocated by a social movement always step on the toes of vested interests. This is the aspect of interpartisanship--the drawing of lines between those who are in and those outside and

those of the opposition. Very frequently, the rise of a social movement gives birth to active counter-movements with the goal of suppressing change. Therefore, the course of a movement cannot possibly be understood apart from its opponents. For example, the Ku Klux Klan and its variants became most virulent during the so-called Reconstruction days in the South and has experienced a revival as the Civil Rights movement developed in the 1950's.

Before going to the next point, one important implication of the goals and the opposition encountered by a social movement should be noted. Proportional to the scope of the changes proposed and to the opposition encountered, the individuals who participate in the movement change in their attitudes and outlook. These changes involve progressive delineation of who and what they are, and who and what they are not, as we shall see. In other words, there is a rise of <u>self-identity</u> sharpening with the intensity of hardships and obstacles encountered.

(b) A social movement is initiated through the interaction among people prompted by a common <u>motivational base</u>, that is unrest, deprivation, insecurity, frustration, disaffection and disenchantment with the status quo, and is carried out by those directly affected and by those who throw their lot with them, who are often more fortunate and sometimes are intellectuals willing to go through the tribulations required by active participation in a social movement. This motivational base, although not <u>sufficient</u> for the development of a movement, is crucial in understanding the entire course of the movement. It is also crucial for understanding who does and who does not participate in the movement.

(c) A social movement proceeds over time, developing first through declarations of a bill of gripes--that is, negative denunciation of the status quo--and then through formulation and proclamation of a platform or ideology--that is, a positive statement diagnosing the

causes of the ills and stating the changes that are proposed.* Of course, it is during this phase that leadership becomes critical, and that factions or splits are common in social movements. Such factionalism can be referred to as a crisis of leadership. Here too, however, the ups and downs of factions and their leaderships can be understood only with reference to the motivational base afflicting the rank and file. As we shall see, the "crisis of leadership" in the Negro movement, noted by various authors, is closely related to how well the bill of gripes and the positive platform fulfill the needs aroused in the rank and file, as they see them. Thus, in recent years, there has been a trend toward rejecting the Booker T. Washington-type diagnosis and platform of uplift for the Negro people as they fulfill lowly but necessary functions, and a shift toward documenting the guilt of the white community (Walden, 1960). The resonance aroused by the shift to "whitey" as the source of ills was observed as the Black Muslims came into the public eye, with their platform of religious virtue, separatism, and clear denunciation of white racism and colonialist exploitation. Referring wryly to their diagnosis, James Baldwin remarked that other factions "had the faith" but the Muslims had "the facts" (Lomax, 1965, p. 191). At this date, therefore, it is not surprising that the words of Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael, for example, proclaiming the bill of gripes against status quo seem to find more eager receptive ears among the afflicted masses.

(d) Over time, a social movement proceeds through a variety of organizational and action processes and transformations which, in their turn, can be understood only in terms of the motivational base, the

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* CF. "The Psychology of Slogans," In M. Sherif, Social Interaction: Process and Products. (Chicago: Aldine, 1967)

statement of gripes and the positive aims for social change accepted by the participants. At any given time, the particular diagnosis and platform may be the topic of controversy within the movement or may be widely shared. In any event, the tactics and action follow from the diagnosis of the ills and the positive aims in the platform of the movement. Their success in attracting participants, in turn, reflects the motivational base of the movement.

It is necessary to emphasize this point in order to understand the role of leadership in a social movement. Of course, leadership is crucial in the development of a social movement, both in polarizing its program and in coordinating action. Of course, leaders do shape the character and tactics of the movement. However, leadership of a social movement is always and inevitably shaped by the rank-and-file, who share the motivational base both within and outside the movement.

Martin Luther King, at the time a twenty-seven year old Baptist minister, rejected the presidency of the local NAACP with the pretext that he was too new to Montgomery, just three weeks before he was chosen to chair a mass meeting held to formalize the Montgomery bus boycott on December 1, 1955 (Lomax, 1965, p.93). Yet he emerged from the boycott a national and international figure. Later, in 1963, while in Birmingham jail, he wrote with regret to white religious leaders who had tagged him as an extremist: "...I stand in the middle of two opposing forces in the Negro community. One is a force of complacency...The other is one of bitterness and hatred and comes perilously close to advocating violence" (King, 1964, pp. 72-73). He correctly predicted that dismissal of his moderation would lead millions toward the more militant position.

As Louis Lomax, in turn, observed, "the Black Muslims have

forced every Negro spokesman in America to assume a position more extreme than that he would have assumed had the Muslims not been among us." The reason he gives is that once the Muslims stated their case "the Negro spokesman who speaks less of the truth...simply cannot get a hearing among his own people" (p. 191).

In brief, a social movement cannot be understood simply as the doings of a few leaders, for, in fact, the leaders are continually shaped by the rank and file. Of course, the leaders contribute to the rise of a social movement. But the conditions that give rise to the movement have a great deal to do with the shaping of its leaders. This point has important implications for the constraints placed upon leaders in their negotiations with the opposition. There are limits to which the leaders can commit their own rank and file without being deposed from their leadership position.

IV

Now in the light of our characterization of a social movement, let us state a few implications for changes in the black community. Throughout, it is important to emphasize that the current mood and local events are always dependent upon the particular stage of development attained in the movement. This emphasis is very important for practical steps at the community level: For example, measures that might have been satisfactory to the rank and file before the movement takes shape--such as improvement of living and working conditions, exhortations appealing to people's sense of order, or even pouring money in their direction, may be altogether unsatisfactory in their eyes at a later stage, when the movement has gained a sense of confidence, self-identity and pride in its achievements. Perhaps a few billion dollars towards insuring civil rights and equal opportunity fifty years ago might have gone a long way all by itself. Today, after so many

disillusionments and broken hopes, money alone is not seen as any kind of cure-all.

A perspective on the black movement in this country shows very clearly that improvised half-measures and the usual pat formulas for dealing with great problems will not work now. In this connection it is instructive to remember that there is a tendency to see money as the solution of all problems. This tendency was cogently noted by the Harvard historian Crane Brinton (1965) in writing on great social changes as the American tendency "to emphasize the...individualistic economic motive and to minimize such motives as pride, envy, the 'pooled self esteem' of nationalism (and racism), to say nothing of religious and moral idealism..." (p. 270). The ring of truth in Brinton's criticism comes through in the writings of the more militant Negro leaders today. For example, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) wrote: "Our basic premise is that money and jobs are not the final answer to the black man's problems. Without in any sense denying the overwhelming reality of poverty, we must affirm that the basic goal is not 'welfare colonialism'...but the inclusion of black people at all levels of decision-making. We do not seek to be mere recipients <u>from</u> the decision-making process but participants <u>in</u> it" (p. 183).

The changing black community is no longer in the mood to wait for the fulfillment of broken promises of equality in employment, housing, education, recreation and other necessities and good things of life. They have been disillusioned and disenchanted so many times since the abolition of slavery a century ago that they are no longer in the mood to tolerate tokenism. Having had bitter experience and humiliating disillusionment with counting on the generosity and largesse of masters or the existing power structure, the black social movement now wants to achieve <u>self determination</u> of their own lives,

full participation in decision-making and in charting their own destiny, and not reliance on the proclaimed good will and intentions of those whose interests need not coincide with theirs.

This core aspect of the movement is forging toward a <u>self identity</u> or <u>self image</u> proud of its mass origins and basis in the fields of Mississippi and Alabama as well as northern cities, proud of its African origins and culture, proud of black skin, proud of its sympathy for other erstwhile downtrodden peoples similarly asserting their self-determination. Unless this central core--moving to forge a proud and confident self-identity dedicated to self-determination in charting the course of the well-being and future of black people--is kept in mind, there is little likelihood of understanding the social movement or the changes that it advocates, much less establishing workable and constructive relationships.

Background of the Current Mood

The current mood of the black movement toward self-determination, forging ahead a self-identity and self-respect is eminently understandable when we take even a quick glance at the historical background. For the masses emancipated from the cruel and archaic institution of slavery, the period of abortive reconstruction in the South turned into the treacherous path of "Back to Slavery" (DuBois, 1935). The waves of segregationist Jim Crow laws adopted in state after state reflected actual conditions of suppression and exploitation, in which black people lived constantly in the shadow of violence and frequently were its witness and victim. In 1896, the United States Supreme Court's "Separate, but equal education" verdict in the Plessy vs. Ferguson case, of course, amounted to the legitimization of the institution of segregation which was not repudiated until May 17, 1954.

Meanwhile, the Negro leaders who were supported by important white figures were those who, like Booker T. Washington, accommodated to the overwhelming power of white dominance with the hope that industrial education, business enterprise and moral uplift could secure "the cooperation of the whites and...the best possible thing for the black man" (Washington, quoted by Walden, 1960, p. 105). This accommodation meant, of course, that the Negroes would be more efficient farm hands and servants. The decline of accommodating leadership, documented by Killian and Grigg (1964) in southern communities of the 1950's, represented a reaction in the Negro community delayed half a century by the stone wall of racism.

Not the least, but the most powerful representatives of the power structure let it be known that, for them, a "nigger" was a "nigger," no matter what his accomplishments. A senator from Mississippi (J.K. Vardaman) stated the white supremacy view very concisely: "I am just as opposed to Booker T. Washington as a voter with all his Anglo-Saxon reinforcements, as I am to the coconut-headed, chocolate-colored, typical little coon, Andy Dotson, who blacks my shoes every morning. Neither is fit to perform the supreme function of citizenship" (Quoted by Lomax, 1962, p. 40).

Despite the penetrating analysis made by Negro intellectuals, and the determined efforts of Negro educators and white liberals toward education and more nearly equal opportunity for Negro citizens, the historical trends that lifted Negroes from <u>de facto</u> slavery were not primarily their doing. As well documented by the sociologist Franklin Frazier, it took two bloody World Wars and their aftermaths, socio-economic trends that brought Negroes and whites alike from country-side to swelling cities, and the struggle against Hitler's racism in which Negroes shared only to return home to the homegrown variety

where the black man was still "last to be hired and first to be fired" (Frazier, 1957 a).

After World War II, neither whites nor blacks could ignore the blatant inequalities in their own country when colored peoples were rising all over the world to take their destinies into their own hands as independent nations. Indeed the spokesmen of the federal government were mindful of America's image in the eyes of the world as the Supreme Court handed down its historic 1954 decision and, subsequently, as the concerted struggle for desegregation began (Killian and Grigg, 1964). And Negro Americans were struck by the harsh contrast between the dignity of new nations in Africa and Asia, and the degradations suffered daily by Negro Americans. James Baldwin wrote sardonically: "At the rate things are going, all of Africa will be free before we can get a lousy cup of coffee" (quoted by Lomax, 1962, p.88).

Of course, the land of opportunity had opened doors to some Negroes--educators, intellectuals, artists, performers, athletes, businessmen. And what had the golden opportunities to success on the basis of individual achievement brought the growing middle class under the circumstances? Franklin Frazier in his Black Bourgeoisie (1957 b) found a cloudy reflection of white middle class life, a "world of make believe" in which the Negro middle class was without roots "in either the Negro world with which it refuses to identify, or the White world which refuses to permit the black bourgeoisie to share its life" (p. 24).

Like all men thus caught betwixt and between the margins of two worlds, the Negro successful by society's standards was, in Frazier's description, full of "emotional and mental conflicts," rejected by the white world" with resulting "self hatred, since it is attributed to their Negro characteristics" (pp. 25-26). As Frazier stated it,

the Negro middle class was fast on its way to becoming "NOBODY." Literary expressions of the empty self-identity awaiting the Negro who stepped upwards or aside from the Negro masses were forthcoming as Baldwin wrote that "Nobody Knows My Name," and Ralph Ellison pictured the transition from the South to the northern metropolis as becoming an "invisible Man." More recently, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) start their discussion of Black Power with the imperative: "We must first redefine ourselves" (p. 34).

Certainly it is no coincidence that rank-and-file citizens, tired to death of ill treatment on buses where they constituted 75 percent of the patrons, took the first steps toward action in Montgomery, or that young students were the first to grow impatient and unwilling to wait for access to segregated public facilities. Of course, they had behind them important federal support in the form of legal decisions and rulings after the legal gains won by the NAACP. But the middle class Negro leaders, for the most part, had neither the clear self-identity nor the daring to take what seemed then such bold steps.

Role of Rank and File in Shaping Leadership

The more recent "crisis in leadership" has been analyzed by the Florida State University sociologists Killian and Grigg (1964) as well as by Louis Lomax (1962), Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton (1967), among others. This crisis can be understood in part as a crisis in self identity that American society created for its Negro intellectuals and middle class in making "success" contingent upon standards that divorced them from the Negro masses, on the one hand, while denying full entry into the dominant majority, on the other. The crisis of leadership refers to the difficulties and lack of

agreement in formulating a bill of gripes and a platform for change with clearcut action programs that touch the motivational base affecting the masses who constitute actual and potential adherents of the movement. Desegregation of restaurants and airline terminals, after all, did not benefit the great bulk of the people who could not afford to eat out or fly, even though it removed one more humiliating barrier for middle-class Negroes.

As the movement has proceeded more recently, the resolution of the dilemma in self-identity has consisted of two aspects, both visibly underway for a number of years:

1. The dissociation from those white standards, institutions and values that define the black man as inferior and, in some cases, the repudiation of whites themselves as the symbols and cause of the Negro's plight. This disenchantment with or even rejection of white values and institutions that affect the black man was manifested in various ways and in varying degrees throughout the movement. To the Black Muslims, the mental divorce was to be complete, so that Malcolm Little became Malcolm X, symbolizing rejection of the slave name tagged on by white masters. The extreme forms of rejecting everything American and directing the search for self-identity exclusively to non-white symbols, as represented by the Black Muslims, were seen by the Oberlin sociologist Yinger (1965) as "illustrative of the consequences of discrimination." He advised that "our objective should be, not to suppress such movements, but to change the conditions that produce them" (p. 91). However, the recent search for a black identity should not be equated entirely with the Black Muslim position. In all cases, the dissociation from dominant white values of superiority is a position conducive to affirmation of one's self as a black man, with

dark skin, to be viewed with pride.

2. The other aspect of the resolution of the self-identity crisis involved turning towards other nonwhite peoples and looking elsewhere for values to replace those rejected in White America. Of course, this aspect involved closing ranks among themselves, but it also involved appreciation of national movements of colored people around the world. The Black Muslims repeatedly emphasized the common lot with other Muslims and other non-whites who, of course, constitute the majority of the world's population (Lincoln, 1961). More recently, Carmichael and Hamilton (1967) stressed that the black American's efforts toward equality must not "be viewed in isolation from similar demands heard around the world" (p. 179). The analysis by the Florida sociologists Killian and Grigg (1964) refers to the appeal of the emerging African nations to the masses of black Americans. "Whatever the white man's evaluation of these events, Negroes find in them a new source of 'race pride.' But this is not the sort of race pride the white man has so long encouraged the Negro to develop, an illogical sort of pride which would let him still look up to the white man" (p. 127).

To some white Americans, including those liberals who have participated in civil rights organizations, the twin rejection of white values and the positive assertion of black-ness is a somewhat disturbing phenomenon, particularly if one has been schooled in the dictum that the color of one's skin does not count, but what a person does. Now, to the surprise of a good many white liberals, many Negroes are saying the color of one's skin does count, that they want respect for their identity as black men of African origin, and that respect on the basis of individual merit should come, not first, but afterward.

Killian and Grigg (1964) have put the matter in perspective by indicating what integration means to the black community under the present circumstances and what changes are needed to remove the threat to the black man's self identity: "At the present time, integration as a solution to the race problem demands that the Negro foreswear his identity as a Negro. But for a lasting solution, the meaning of 'American' must lose its implicit racial modifier, 'white.' Even without biological amalgamation, integration requires a sincere acceptance by all Americans that it is just as good to be a black American as to be a white American ...so that the status advantage of the white man is no longer an advantage, so that an American may acknowledge his Negro ancestry without apologizing for it" (p. 108).

Today, in an American society not yet ready to encourage black identity on a genuine par with white identity as American, there is not yet consensus within the black movement on the diagnosis of ills and the steps required to bring needed changes. In fact, it is a social movement ridden with factions and competing leaderships, ranging from the older moderate organizations like the NAACP and the Urban League, through Martin Luther King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference and the Congress of Racial Equality, to more militant groups like SNCC and separatist groups like the Black Muslims. In analyzing the crisis of leadership several years ago, Lomax (1962) noted that "there is a basic disagreement between the Negro masses and some of their leaders" centering both on goals, organizational forms and tactics (p. 90). In his view, there was no doubt that "the Negro masses are angry and restless, tired of prolonged legal battles that end in paper decrees" (p. 165) and "demanding that their leaders come from behind their desks and walk and suffer with them" (p. 167).

Today, it is quite safe to say that the trend for the rank and file to push leadership toward action and to affirm their black identity has gained ground since Lomax wrote. The ground swell of sentiment now flows not only from the lowly but from the most fortunate and advantaged young black people. Students at Harvard, Columbia, and Cornell, as well as in Pennsylvania and other institutions of higher learning are forming Afro-American groups, asserting their black identity in organizational form as well as symbols (New York Times, 1967). For example, as Fred Hechinger reported in the New York Times for October 29, 1967, the Harvard-Radcliffe Association of African and Afro-American Students was the center for most activities for black students, who declined "token presence" in other undergraduate organizations in preference for the Association's "sense of unity and expression."

As for the urban masses, it is likely that they have seen a lesson in the repeated demonstration that collective action seems to be required in order for them to be noticed. With reference to the devastating riots of the summer of 1967, Whitney Young (1968) of the Urban League recently felt constrained to tell a group of businessmen that for masses of black people it had become better to be "hated than ignored."

Yet, there are also trends toward coordination of leadership in the black movement. Martin Luther King has spoken of the need for a "summit meeting" of black leaders (Lomax, 1962). The conference on Black Power that met in Newark in the summer of 1967 was called in the effort to bring the leadership of various organizations together. Newsweek of January 22, 1968 reported that Stokely Carmichael of SNCC had called a coalition meeting in Washington bringing together "Negro leaders of all strategic shadings from the Urban League to...

SNCC" (Newsweek, January 22, 1968, p. 28). Such varied efforts indicate the tendency for a movement with shared objectives to attempt coordination as time moves on. In fact, it is this coordination that is referred to as Black Power. "Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society" (Carmichael and Hamilton, 1967, p. 44).

It follows from our analysis of the current state of the black movement that any practical measures directed toward improvement of community and state relations and the conditions of their Negro citizens will have to recognize the existence of both new leadership and new alignments within the movement, even if the mood is defiant and the position extreme. In a recent, much publicized meeting in Detroit on January 30, 1968, concerning jobs and job training, the Reverend Albert Cleague stated on NBC news that the Negroes themselves were not properly represented, despite the presence of Negroes at the conference. A conference convened in Harrisburg by Governor Shafer in April, 1967 to consider problems of Negro employment was picketed by Negroes who felt that their views were not represented. And it can be predicted that future attempts to deal solely with what some black organizations call "hand-picked" and "captive leaders" of the white community who do not represent anyone, and failure to recognize leaders who are securing the ears of the masses, will be exercises in futility.

Of course, no one--white or black--can pretend that meetings with militant leaders asserting their identity and demands for change are as cosy and pleasant as discussions with representatives who are handpicked for their ability to "see the white man's point of view." However, on the basis of their observations in the South, Killian

and Grigg (1964) point out that "paradoxically, this interaction within a conflict relationship seems to produce positive changes in the attitudes of the individuals involved"---in this case, white businessmen whom they called "moderate segregationists." Perhaps, they suggest, "White Americans may have to learn respect for Negro Americans as opponents before they can accept them as friends and equals" (p. 140).

V

The trend toward self-determination and assertion of self-respect as a black man will be increasingly reflected in the black community in the future. However, this trend, with the associated notion of Black Power as a means for developing rank and file participation as well as developing weight to secure the changes desired by the movement through political process, does not mean that white Americans are to have no part in the process. On the contrary, the success of the movement toward equal opportunity depends, as it always has, on efforts that only white Americans can make toward eliminating their own institution of discrimination and prejudice with all of its cruel and degrading consequences. The existence of the institution of racism and prejudice is in no doubt.

The attitudes of white superiority and prejudice have proven their resilient capacity for survival. For example, research on white Americans has shown that they rank various racial and national groups according to the social distance which they would permit each in a highly consistent fashion--with the invariant result that certain groups, including the American Negro, are placed in a degrading and untouchable position at the bottom. For example, the pattern of social distances obtained in 1926 was very similar to that obtained

in 1946, immediately after the war against Hitler's racism, in assigning the lowest positions to Negroes, other colored peoples, some Orientals, Hindus and Turks (Bogardus, 1947). There has, of course, been change since these data were collected, especially as many of the younger generation reject the racist doctrines of their parents.

Yet, the reaction to voter registration in the South, to school desegregation and genuinely open housing in the North, as well as persistent discrimination in employment, leaves no doubt that the doctrine of racism and its institutions are alive today. As long as attitudes of prejudice continue, consciously or unconsciously, white Americans will continue supercilious airs and the actual practice of keeping Negroes "in their place." As long as dominant groups are committed to the proposition that certain peoples are inferior to them, with its inevitable implication that they are therefore unfit for decision making at a high policy level, the barriers will be strengthened against "inferior" peoples' full participation in determination of their own destinies.

The more militant Negro leaders like Malcolm X and Stokely Carmichael have stated that racism is not a Negro problem, but a problem for the white community to solve. In fact, only the white community can solve it. Unless racism with its superiority doctrine and attitudes ranking people by race, religion and national lines are eliminated, prejudice and discrimination are bound to creep into human relations, in spite of all the good intentions and policy decisions to bring about friendship and live-and-let-live across race and nationality.

Here is what Carmichael says in this regard. "Racism in America is a white problem, not a Negro problem. And we are trying to force white people to move into the white community to deal with that

problem. We don't need them from Berkeley in SNCC. We don't need the white college students. Tell the white college students: 'Don't come where the action is...but start where the action is going to be'(i.e. in the white community)" (Quoted in Bennet, 1966, p. 30).

The practical implications of this analysis are obvious, namely that efforts in the United States toward creating opportunities in jobs, job training, education, housing and recreation will not be sufficient to bring about working intergroup relations freed of hate and distrust with their associated episodes of violence, as long as deeply-ingrained racist attitudes, conscious or unconscious superiority claims by the dominant white groups still persist.

As long as superiority claims persist in conscious or unconscious forms, they are bound to poison the relations across races, nationalities and religions. Superiority claims, conscious or unconscious, will prompt new forms of exploitation, as long as the white group assigns to itself the racial qualities needed for decision-making and sees in other groups--black and white--only potentialities for physical labor and skills. On the basis of our brief analysis, we recommend that, if we mean business, we need the following: (1) Careful assessment of intergroup attitudes prevailing in the dominant groups in the white community, without noise, fanfare or publicity. Effective practice can only follow correct diagnosis; (2) On the basis of such realistic analysis of prevailing intergroup attitudes and claims, initiation of a concerted social movement in churches, schools, business circles and through mass media towards elimination of superiority doctrines, prejudices and the practices they produce. Such a movement need not rest solely on humanitarian considerations. Psychological and social science has proven beyond the shadow of any

doubt that there is no scientific or factual evidence whatsoever of any claims of the inherent superiority or inferiority of any racial or national group over any other.

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